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THE COMMEMORATOR

Published by The Commemoration Committee for The Black Panther Party

Volume 1 Number 1 November 1990 Oakland, California

Commemoration Unity Rally A Huge Success

Photo by Donald Cunningham

Photo by Donald Cunningham

It was a day for remembering and a day for unity in the community. On August, in Oakland, California, a rally was held in commemoration of Dr. Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, attracting some 800 people.

A line-up of speakers included leaders and members from the Black Panther Party, Christian ministers, politicians, a representative from the Nation of Islam and various community leaders.

Entertainment ranged from hip hop, better known as rap, to reggae to African sounds by Zulu Spear, and readings of black poetry.

The day began with a morning vigil at the site of Dr. Newton's assassination, complete with an honor guard of youths clad in black pants, powder blue shirts and the traditional black berets, the same attire and colors worn by Black Panther Party members. Two young women held, at full mast, flags of light blue cloths with the black panther, in motion to strike, in the center. They stood at attention on both sides of a floral wreath, with black and blue mums, and bouquets of flowers placed in memory of their fallen hero.

At noon, nearly 100 participants marched from the vigil to Bobby Hutton Park for the Commemoration Unity Rally.

The Reverend Cecil Williams, pastor of Glide Memorial church in San Francisco, opened the event with a statement of purpose. "We are here, first and foremost, to bring unity to the black community. We are here because one of our leaders' life was taken away (Huey P. Newton) one year ago, and we come to commemorate his memory and his spirit."

He also said, "He is smiling on us today and saying, 'Go on, and take care of business in the black community with all oppressed people.'"

Councilman Wilson Riles, who is running for mayor of Oakland, recalled, "There were some very exciting, beautiful things happening back when the Panthers were active. They had their ten-point program, and they were out there involved in lifting the black community up. Now is the time to continue to take the next step; and a key part of taking that next step is understanding the critical importance of unity."

Dr. Newton's widow, Fredricka Newton, addressed the crowd. "I just want to take this time to thank you for all of the support that you've given me this year; for being here in memory of my husband who lived a life of uncompromising principles."

Emory Douglas, former Black Panther Party member and Artist, focused on the youth. "The Black Panther Party was in the spirit of what you are about, and what you should be about today." He said, "The Black Panther Party was young brothers and sisters who dared to come up against authorities who were oppressing us."

Johnny Spain, Former Black Panther Member, who spent 21 years in California penal institutions, and was a comrade of George Jackson, spoke about responsibility. "The media and a number of people in this country don't sit well with the fact that there

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Photo by Donald Cunningham

Dr. Newton's family at the rally.

WEST OAKLAND CHILDREN'S ART PROGRAM THREATENED

"Our hobbies as African people is an art that comes in many different forms; each one with its uniqueness. It is very important to keep these gifts in the family. As African Americans we have been stripped and separated from family. Our art is a link to bonding of our souls - souls that are creatively blessed by God."

Raynetta Rayzetta
Artist in Residence

The Cultural Arts Program at DeFremery Community Center may no longer exist after December 7, 1990. West Oakland's only resource for after school and weekend performing and visual arts classes has been aborted from Oakland's Park and Recreation budget as of this fiscal year.

Through the years the Cultural Arts Program has interacted with many arts organizations throughout the city. The children of De Fremery had a booth at the Festival on the Lake, had exhibits at City Hall, the Museum of Children's Art, Ebony Art Museum, Pro Arts; and have been involved in community outreach programs.

DeFremery is the only center in West Oakland that employs professional artists to teach children, offering performing and visual arts classes through which the children learn to excel in the arts. The dedicated staff believes this increases the children's sense of self-esteem and accomplishments, and their ability to excel in other areas of education. "We the teachers are training the children in all these areas of the arts. They will become the image makers of Oakland's future."

Photo by Donald Cunningham

Dr. Newton's widow, Fredricka Newton.

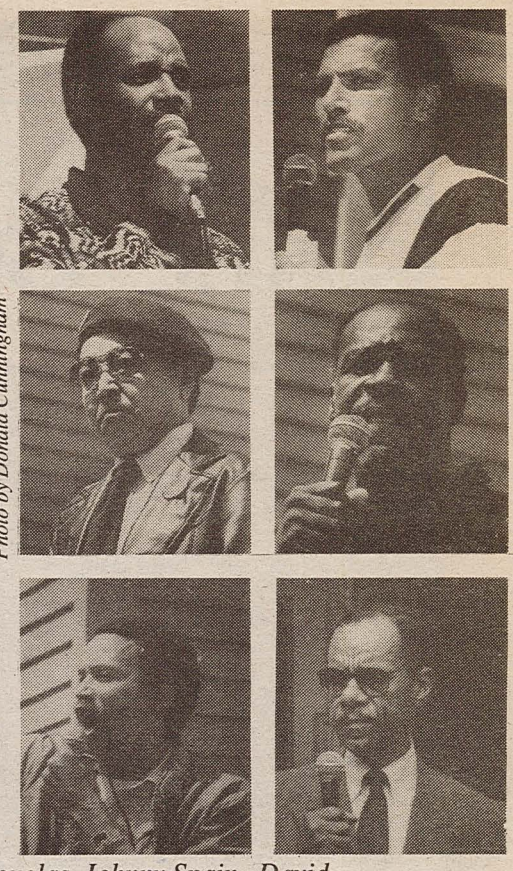

Photo by Donald Cunningham

Bobby Seale, (clockwise from top right) Emory Douglas, Johnny Spain , David Hilliard, Minister Rabb Muhammad, Landon Williams, Richard Aoki.

Unity Rally

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were a number of contributions that Huey and other leaders, who have died and been killed, have made over the years. And yet, when the pressures of our own community —because we haven't taken care of business — when the pressures of our community come in, and come in to haunt us, I don't want people pointing the finger at other people, We have to take responsibility for Huey's death. Not the system. 'the system'— that doesn't mean anything. "We" mean something."

Spain said, "If we take responsibility for Huey's death; and for all the other deaths of the kids in the streets, and the kids on dope. . . We have to deal with those things and take responsibility and make it a common cause that we will not allow future generations to be overwhelmed. I don't want to see anymore 17-year-old kids going to prison for 21 years."

Richard Aoki, former field marshall for the Black Panther Party, is currently Minister of Education for the Asian American Political Alliance, joined the Party during its early development with Huey and Bobby when they patrolled the Oakland police. Huey was his "mentor."

"We wish to express our deepest condolences to the family of Dr. Huey P. Newton."

"Doctor!" he repeated with excitement. "Yes. He had a Ph.D. from the University of California at Santa Cruz. He also had his Ph.D. from the streets of West Oakland. He was 'bad'! Huey understood what was going on. He could see the big picture."

Aoki closed with, "Huey is gone, but the true spirit of Dr. Huey P. Newton shall live on. All power to the people!"

Former political prisoner and party member, Landon Williams, told the crowd about how the FBI created division in the Black Panther Party.

"It was caused by COINTELPRO (the FBI's counterintelligence program). A lot of Party members were duped by that kind of stuff,' he said. "And we can't let it happen again."

Ray Richardson, chairman of Afro-American Studies at Laney College, spoke on behalf of the Newton family, "Huey was always, to me, a very special person, a very caring person. He would come to my classes prior to his death. He and I would talk and he shared. And if there was some young person who wanted to know what the substance of his or her inner existence meant, then Huey was always available; always available when I would ask him to come to my class to talk to groups of (what we call) educationally disadvantaged students."

David Hilliard, former Chief of Staff for the Black Panther Party, introduced Bobby Seale, "This is a momentous occasion. Huey's death symbolizes a renewal of unity for all. And that's the spirit that we are here in." And to his comrades, "Once a year, wherever we are (like in the spirit of the Jews, when they have their passover), we should come together and have our 'passover', in our homes, in our community, so that we can talk about our history in a positive way."

Bobby Seale, co-founder and chairman of the Black Panther Party, was on his old "stomping grounds." One could tell by the rousing welcome he got from the cheering crowd.

He spoke of the need for economic development in our community. "Everybody is talking about drug proliferation and crime in our communities, and us killing each other. If we don't proliferate our black communities throughout America with all kinds of grassroots jobs and economic development programs that they (the youth) can plug into as an alternative, they won't think in terms of getting over there jiving with those drugs, they can get some motivation, get educated into some higher education — if we don't begin to do that, then, we're going to lose this human black liberation struggle that we've been fighting for all these years.

" So, we're going to create a youth center down here. It will probably be called a Black Panther Youth Center. But it will be about creating jobs. It will be about a unity between all of us. Our goal and objective is community control of the economic framework that retails and produces services and goods. Our goal and objective is community control or a balance of power between the people in the community and the political institutions.

"Let us not fail to realize that we come to this rally today to respect the profound, human, stand-up, black, socratic, adventurous brother of mine, brother Huey P. Newton. But to do that, it's got to be about where we go in the future."

Minister Abdul Rabb Muhammad, of the Oakland mosque of the Nation of Islam, urged the organizers of the rally to rebuild the Black Panther Party.

"The greatest tribute we can pay to brother Huey P. Newton is to rebuild the Black Panther Party." He said, "You were right. You weren't wrong. The government had to destroy you because you were reaching the people. We'll work with you. We didn't do it right last time. We thought we were different. But no, we're black people and we're in the struggle."

Following the speeches, program coordi-

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Photo by Donald Cunningham

Photo by Donald Cunningham

Rap artist, PARIS and South Africa's ZULU SPEAR entertaining the crowd.

OAKLAND PARENTS AND BOARD ANGRY OVER SCHOOL POLICY

A new Oakland school district policy instructs principals not to notify parents when police come on campus to arrest or question students.

Under the new policy, described in an August 17 memorandum written by district legal counsel Dan Siegel, a principal should not attempt to inform parents that police are interrogating their child "until the investigating officers indicate that it is appropriate to do so." Nor should the principal notify parents that their child is being arrested until "after the police and student have left the premises."

Furthermore, when police are questioning a student, the principal should not attempt to ensure that the student understands his or her Miranda rights, such as the right to remain silent or the right to an attorney. "That is the responsibility of the police officers," Siegel said in the memo.

Likewise no school employee may demand to be present when a student is being questioned if the interrogating officer insists that the employee not be present. "Whether a student chooses to sign a statement given to the police is a matter to be resolved between the student and the police officer, and school personnel should not interfere, "according to the memo.

In cases where the officer wants to take the student from the school without making an arrest, the memo says the principal should make sure the student understands that he or she is not required to accompany the police officer.

Parents are upset that the new policy could lead to violation of the right of innocent students, said Jacob Greenwell, vice-chair of the district Advisory Committee, a group made up primarily of parent representatives from flatland Oakland schools. "Kids who are not always in trouble could be caught up in something as a suspect. Those are the kind of students we are trying to protect," Greenwell said.

Board member Sylvester Hodges said he is getting calls from many parents who are opposed to the policy. Parents want to know as soon as possible if their children are suspects or being questioned about a crime, he said. "Everyone talks about the need for parent involvement. If kids are being investigated, they need their rights protected, and parents will protect their rights."

Board president David Anderson said he has talked with parents who feel the new policy is racist, and he agrees with them. "It's an attack on black and Hispanic kids, because they have the most problems. But you can't solve the problems by arresting the or harassing them."

Anderson said some parents are talking about some kind of action, like keeping their kids out of school for a few days, to protest the policy.

Board member Sheila Jordan said she had grave reservations about having police on campus investigating crimes that didn't happen there. If the kids are wanted for crimes in the community, they should be seen by police at home, not at school, she said.

Margaret Brodkin, executive director of Coleman Advocates for Children, which monitors juvenile justice in San Francisco, said she believes the new policy "makes it harder for parents to be involved when the efforts should be in the other direction, getting them more involved. . . .it's a bad policy that disempowers parents and will result in an escalation of arrests."

Responding to the criticism, Siegel claimed that student rights are protected under juvenile law, which requires the police themselves to notify parents when they arrest a student or interrogate juvenile suspects.

Excerpted from *The East Bay Guardian*

CALIFORNIA'S FIRST BLACK CHIEF FEDERAL JUDGE

SAN FRANCISCO - U.S. District Judge Thelton Henderson is scheduled to become chief judge of the Northern District of California in November.

Henderson became the first black attorney in the justice Department's Civil Rights Division in 1962. On an assignment in the South he was arrested by a gun-wielding policeman who took him to jail for a violation.

In 1984 he and other black leaders visiting South Africa were arrested and detained for nearly a day. Henderson said they had been watching the trial of black children when officers ordered them to the police station.

He ran a poverty law clinic in East Palo Alto, directed a minority admissions program at Stanford University and practiced law in San Francisco, with an emphasis on civil rights cases, before being appointed to the bench by President Jimmy Carter.

His most prominent rulings have included overturning the murder conviction of former Black Panther Johnny Spain in a 1971 San Quentin uprising; upholding a San Francisco minority contracting ordinance; allowing small booksellers to challenge discounts to big-chains; and recently ordering an embargo on foreign-caught tuna because of excessive killing of dolphins.

Unity Rally

continued from page 2

nator, Harriet Stricklen turned the mike over to the "fresh" and "lovely" Dominique Di Prima from the television rap show, "Home Turf", who M.C.'d a great line-up of entertainment. Revolutionary rap star, PARIS (the Black Panther of Hip Hop), thrilled the crowd with his driving beat and meaningful lyrics. **TOTAL DEVASTATION** and **BLACK ON TRACK** took the audience higher, **ALI BABA and the FRESH 40** had the jamming to a reggae beat, and **ZULU SPEAR**, from South Africa, closed the event with music from our Motherland. The rally ended with the audience joining **ZULU Spear** in singing the South African national anthem.

In the words of Valerie Cunningham, who happened to be visiting Oakland on the day of the event, "What a day!"

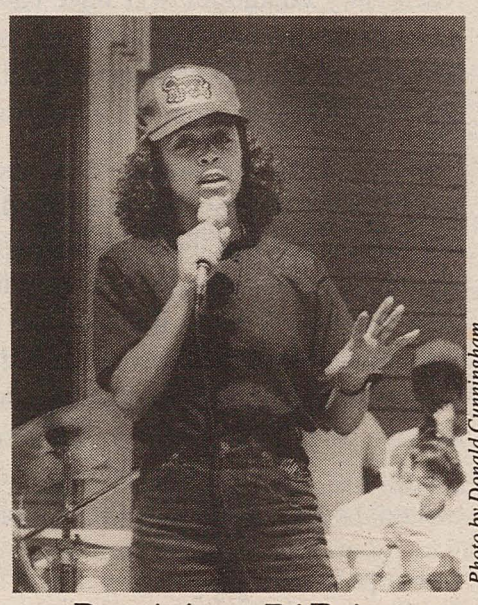

Photo by Donald Cunningham

Dominique Di Prima

CHILDREN'S PROGRAM THREATENED

SEE PAGE 1

CHILDREN'S WORKSHOP

	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THURS	FRI.
2:30		CLAY	MODERN BALLET		ART IN NATURE
3:30	I WANA BE A BALLERINA	CLAY	TAP DANCE 7& UP	JAZZ DANCE	CLAY & SCULPTURE
	ARTS & CRAFTS	TEAM SPORTS 9-12	IT'S ALL ACTING THEATER & MOVIES	ART EXPLOSION 3:15 - 5:15	KNITTING & CROCHETING 6-12
	HEEL TOE & TAP 7& up		MURAL PAINTING 3:30 - 5:30	TEAM SPORTS 9-12	CREATIVE FUN & BOOK-MAKING
	TEAM SPORTS 9-12		TEAM SPORTS 9-12		TEAM SPORTS 9-12
4:30	SCULPTURE	RECYCLE COLLAGES & SCULPTURE	MURAL PAINTING 3:30-5:30	DRAWING & PAINTING	DOUBLE DUTCH 9-12
	LET'S STAY IN SHAPE 9-12		DOLLS PUPPETS & MONSTERS	COOKING 6& UP	FABRIC PRINTING & DYING
	AFRICAN DANCE				
5:00	TAE KWON DO-KARATE 6-12		TAE KWON DO-KARATE 6-12		TAE KWON DO-KARATE 6-12
6:00		CREATIVE ARTS		CREATIVE ARTS	

SAT.	
MODERN & CREATIVE DANCE	10:00
RAINBOW OF ART	
PAINTING & DRAWING	
AFRICAN JAZZ CLASS	11:00
PAINTING & DRAWING	
RAINBOW OF ART	
LUNCH	12:00
CLAY	1:00
FABRIC PRINTING & DYING	
WORLD OF BALLET	
PAINTING	2:00
CLAY SCULPTURE	

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THE COMMEMORATOR

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"SERVING ALL OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES"

Volume 1, Number 1 November 1990

WHITE JUSTICE

The recent decisions in the obscenity cases of the Robert Mapplethorpe art exhibit and the 2 Live Crew rap album imply that two kinds of justice exist in American courts: one for whites and one for blacks. Art gallery director Dennis Barrie was acquitted of the charge of pandering obscenity in Cincinnati, for showing sexually explicit photographs that were part of Mapplethorpe's exhibit. But in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, Charles Freeman, a black record store owner, was convicted on similar charges for selling a sexually explicit record album by rap group, 2 Live Crew.

Many of Mapplethorpe's photographs showed men in homosexual poses and acts, young children in the nude and one of the photographer himself, naked, with a bullwhip extending from his buttocks. The 2 Live Crew Album, "Nasty As They Wanna Be," contains verbally graphic references to erotic acts. Both forms of expression were defined as obscene by the prosecutors in each care, and allegedly offended "community standards."

In each case the only evidence were samples of each form of expression. The photographs in question were shown to the Barrie jury, and the record album was played in court for the jury in the Freeman trial.

Both juries deliberated about two hours to reach their decisions. Except for the details (a photograph exhibit, and a record album sale) both cases seemed to follow similar paths.

However, the jury in Charles Freeman's trial was all white. And the outcome was different

The New York Times applauded the Cincinnati decision saying that the message the jury sent was, "When asking if something is obscene, one must add 'obscene to whom?' To some the photographs were obscenities; to others art. The rights of the museum to display the pictures and the rights of the citizens to make up their own minds have been upheld."

The jury in Freeman's trial denied him those same rights, and said, by its decision, that citizens have no right to make up their own minds.

Maybe its in error to suspect that two kinds of justice prevailed. Perhaps it is only one justice: white justice for whites and white justice for blacks.

CLEANING THE SLATE

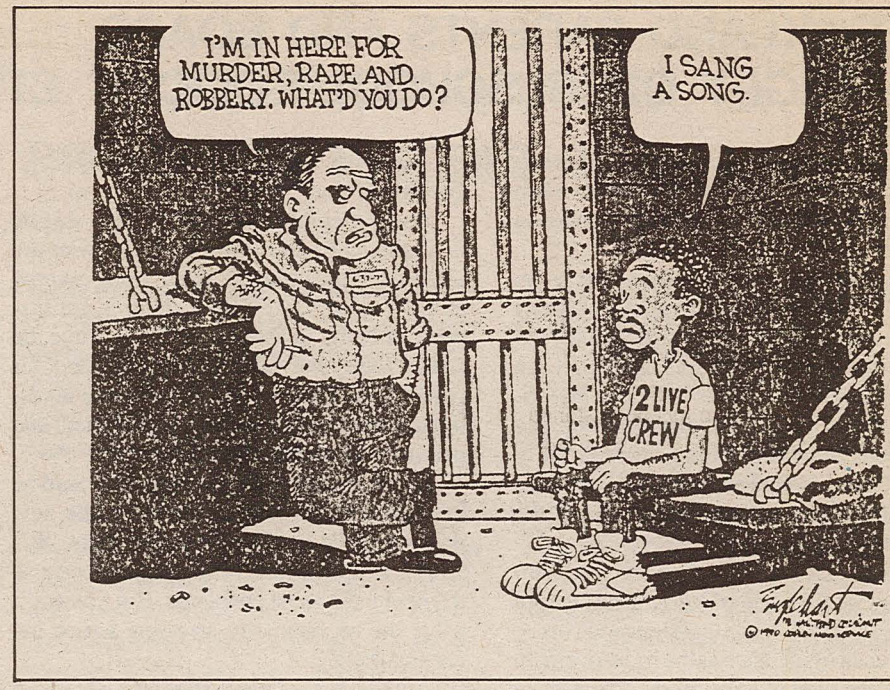
"By finally admitting a wrong, a nation does not destroy its integrity but, rather, reinforces the sincerity of its commitment to the constitution and hence to its people." Those are the pious words of Attorney General Dick Thornburgh after kneeling and presenting an official apology to Japanese Americans who were forcibly interned in concentration camps during World War II. Each of the nine elderly former internees were presented with checks amounting to $20,000 as redress payments for their internment. This event happened recently in the Justice Department's "Great Hall" in Washington, D.C.

President Bush said, "We can never fully right the wrongs of the past. But we can make a clear stand for justice and recognize that serious injustice done to Japanese Americans."

Despite its rarity it is always good to know when people of color can find a gesture of justice in this country. But this event painfully brings to mind the many injustices done by our government against our black ancestors (slavery) and our native American ancestors (genocide); and after over 300 years the U.S. government has yet to make an official apology. It has yet to "finally admit a wrong" or "recognize that serious injustice."

Where is "its commitment to its people" and "recognizing that serious injustice done" to black and native Americans?

When is the slate going to be cleaned for us?
When we clean it ourselves.



LETTERS

APPRECIATED COMMEMORATION DAY

I hope this small contribution will help with the upcoming event Saturday, Aug. 25, 1990.

There is need to fight against oppression and fascism in 1990, as there was in the 60's, in the African American communities.

So I really appreciate a commemoration day to recognize that Dr. Newton, Fred Hampton, Bobby Hutton and others who died was not in vain, but was toward the cause for Black Liberation, Equality and Justice.

The invincible thoughts of the Black Panther Party can never be destroyed, because they are manifested in the people.

Former Political Prisoner,
Terry Cotton

Good luck with getting the first issue out!
Lisa Culver
A. Eisen

WHAT A DAY!

I'm so happy to have been visiting Oakland on the day of the Unity Rally (August 25). What a day! It was especially meaningful for me because my daughter was with me - she's had my Huey Newton poster on her wall at college for the past two years and read *everything* she could find about the Black Panthers. Seeing Bobby and the others was a privilege for us both.

I missed getting the commemorative newspaper. My small donation is enclosed. I'll send more when possible. Please put me on your mailing list.

Valerie Cunningham
Portsmouth, N.H.

Dear Brothers and Sisters
Thank you for continuing the struggle.
Power to the People
Marlene Krohn

HUEY'S CORNER

At this time the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we are afraid that we might not exist to see the next day of see the revolution. The Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people. As a matter of fact, we have drawn a line of demarcation and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality, and murder of any kind. We will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered. Each person has an obligation to preserve himself. If he does not preserve himself then I accuse him of suicide: reactionary suicide because reactionary conditions will have caused his death. If we do nothing we are accepting the situation and allowing ourselves to die. We will not accept that. If the alternatives are very narrow we still will not sit around, we will not die the death of the Jews in Germany. We would rather die the death of the Jews in Warsaw!

Where there is courage, where there is self-respect and dignity, there is a possibility that we can change the conditions and win. This is called *revolutionary enthusiasm* and it is the kind of struggle that is needed in order to guarantee a victory. If we must die, then we will die the death of a revolutionary suicide that says, "If I am put down, if I am driven out, I refuse to be swept out with a broom. I would much rather be driven out with a stick because if I am swept out with the broom it will humiliate me and I will lose my self-respect. But if I am driven out with the stick, then, at least, I can claim the dignity of a man and die the death of a man rather than the death of a dog." Of course, our real desire is to live, But we will not be cowed, we will not be intimidated.

- excerpt from "Speech Delivered at Boston College: November 18, 1970"; *To Die for the People,* by Dr. Huey P. Newton.

THE REMAINS OF NATIVE AMERICANS

Gov. Deukmejian . . . vetoed a bill to set up a process for returning Native American remains and grave artifacts to their descendants. By doing so, the governor has helped perpetuate the anguish felt by Native Americans at seeing the bones of their ancestors treated as fodder for museum displays.

Resolution of the issue has been stalled over the question of proving direct links between (the) remains and those tribal members claiming them. One Native American activist, speaking to a university faculty, fairly summarized the issue: "You're talking about something that belongs to us. We're not talking about something that belongs to you."

Momentum is building nationwide to back the Native American position, and two bills that do so are pending in Congress. Deukmejian says he supports returning the remains, but favors University of California guidelines providing for return when there is a demonstrated biological and socio-cultural linkage. The governor is missing the point. It is for Native Americans, and no one else, to decide what to do with the remains of their dead.

-Editorial - *S.F. Examiner*

ALREADY 30 KILLED IN OPERATION DESERT SHIELD

Seventeen American service personnel have been killed in the region since President Bush deployed U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf. In addition, 13 crew members died August 29 when a giant transport aircraft loaded with supplies for U.S. forces in the gulf crashed and burned shortly after takeoff in West Germany.

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RESPONDING TO RADICAL RACISM

David Horowitz Barely Remembered

By Elaine Brown (Copyright May 1990)

Shortly after the assassination of Dr. Huey P. Newton, several articles appeared in local and national publications, scandalizing and attempting to discredit the Black Panther Party itself. David Horowitz's article showed up in *Smart* magazine, and Elaine Brown is responding specifically to that piece of yellow journalism. It is also a response to an article to discredit Dr. Newton, written in 1978 by Kate Coleman and the lies written by Ken Kelley in the *East Bay Express* a few months ago.

My first inclination was to ignore David Horowitz. His petty, personalized attack on Huey Newton (in the March-April 1990 issue of *Smart* magazine) was predictably vitriolic, though notably issued after Huey's murder in August of 1989. Even though Huey had been my friend, leader and lover, I read Horowitz's denunciations and lies about him with little more than my eyebrow raised in a fanciful vision of smacking Horowitz. After all, it was the same pudgy little man who had, for years, attacked me with his less-than-mighty pen.

It was that same Horowitz who had been, at one time, an editor of *Ramparts* magazine. That was back in the days when he was obsessively enamored of the bigness and blackness and dangerousness of Eldridge Cleaver; when he had wrested Eldridge from nine years of prison with a job at *Ramparts*; when he had rationalized Eldridge's confession (published in his book, *Soul on Ice*) of raping Black women. It was the same Horowitz, the self-proclaimed "radical," who had sat on the nominal board of the Black Panther Party school, and who had offered his friend to the Panthers as a bookkeeper. It was the same Horowitz who, later, in the safety of the Seventies, slid into the secure and subsidized arms of new Right friends, finished with his fling with the Left. It was the same Horowitz who has, since, made his living by "trashing" the Left with his little pen. Despite his post-*Ramparts* habit of hiding behind co-authorship (his present consort being a Peter Collier), the smell and stain on the 16 pages of wordage in the *Smart* article were clearly that of the same Horowitz. Horowitz and his homilies being known to me, his scathing remarks about Huey, at first, only seared the edges of my memory.

I thought of Horowitz as a kind of Sixties version of Walt Whitman Rostow. Like Rostow, Horowitz was born of politically left-leaning parents - I recalled someone telling me Horowitz's parents were even card-carrying Communist. In Horowitz's increasingly-frequent McCarthy-like attacks on the Left, one hears the echo of Rostow, whose Freudian hatred of his heritage produced an anti-communist madness. Of course, Rostow was so enterprising, he went on to find his way into the John Kennedy administration as the "foreign policy" advisor who became the architect of the Vietnam war. Horowitz's Freudian dilemma has been restricted to paper. At his best, he has merely been able to scrawl angry invectives at his leftist parentage with his conservative crayon. Some have suggested the worst, of course, that Horowitz has become a virtual scribe fro the FBI (*a la* Joyce Haber, the *L.A. Times* reporter whose claim to fame became here publication of a story she co-authored with the FBI to crucify the beautiful Jean Seberg.) Whatever are Horowitz's psychoneurotic or other motivations, the result is that his credibility as a man has been so questionable, I have long been able to dismiss him.

In his Smart writing, I saw a horrible, new dimension to Horowitz. Not only was he lashing out at another, popular Left figure, he was actually engaging a full-scale assault against all progressive people in America, particularly all those who have struggled for Black liberation. In denigrating Huey, he was simultaneously denigrating an entire Movement of people toward freedom and justice and peace. Under the banner of assassinating the character of Huey, he was assassinating the legitimacy of the work of the Black Panther Party. Worse, in viciously maligning Huey Newton, he was, I saw, actually maligning Black people as a whole. He had finally come clean and out of the closet. Horowitz had finally done something noteworthy. He had become the architect of a radical racism.

He was resurrecting and authenticating the racism that has long been embedded in the American psyche. He was giving permission to his new, Right allies to finally put "all that *Black* business" behind them. He was justifying racist backlashes and backsliding. He was even allowing for racist Whites to once again be able to say the word "nigger" out loud. He was, in essence, congealing all those years from the post-Reconstruction period of "respectable racism" to the Reagan era of "comfortable racism" into a mold for an uglier, mutant racism.

Horowitz, more sophisticated than many of his new Right, racist brothers - including neo-Nazis and "skinheads" - tries to disguise his racism. He encases himself in a self-righteous assault on the man who injected a virility into the struggle of Black people for freedom. That is why his words seemed, at first glance, only the tired reminiscences of the old Horowitz, still trying to polish his lackluster career with another disparaging summary about the Left. There was Horowitz, seemingly - as he says of Huey's assassin - "looking for . . . the respect that comes from having taken out a man with a big reputation." On second glance, however, I saw the truth of the matter.

The truth is Horowitz is a new breed of racist. In his vilification of Huey, Horowitz does more than free himself from Mom and Dad and the entire Left. He does more than turn the key to the kingdom of the powerbrokers, a kingdom where the little Horowitzes and Rostows enter only via the back door. Horowitz dons and smooths the raiments of racism. Blinded by his whiteness, however, he does not see that his racism is actually visible in the very foundation of his attack on Huey Newton. He does not see that the core quality that he denounces in Huey runs through the blood of the entire Black race: Huey's rage as a Black man in America.

The pervasiveness of that rage is well articulated throughout Black literature. A reading of any of the works of Richard Wright or W.E.B. DuBois or Alice Walker or Toni Morrison or Ralph Ellison or Langston Hughes or Zora Neale Hurston or James Baldwin - to name only a few of those most widely published - would provoke even a dead man to feel the rage. It is a rage that sparked the dynamism of Marcus Garvey. It is a rage that fashioned the magnificence of Malcolm X - who, like Garvey, was castigated by Whites as - to use the term in which Horowitz lavishes himself - "a crazy nigger." Nevertheless, Horowitz over and over assails Huey's legitimacy as a Black leader because of what he defines in Huey as a "crazy nigger persona."

For Horowitz, the enraged Huey is "bad." Horowitz's "good" Huey would have been a quiet Negro, a man who would have pardoned those who committed the crimes of slavery and racism; who would have responded with passive intellectuality to indignity; who could have rationalized his inferior station; who would have forgiven his oppressors. Horowitz's "bad" Huey is the man who said "no" to racist oppressors, not only in words but in deeds. The "bad" Huey issued a call to arms against a sea of troubles. The "bad" Huey "organized" with the gun. The "bad" Huey claimed his manhood, his personhood, his humanity, and urged and implored the rest of us - people like me - to join him. The "bad" Huey sought freedom through armed revolution.

By incorporating in his castigation of Huey a condemnation of the Black Panther Party, Horowitz reveals another layer of his racism. He curses the entire Black Panther Party as a "gang of hoodlums," created by Huey to carry out a nebulously "evil" design. Notwithstanding my strong feeling that such an appellation would never reach Horowitz with respect to the violence of the Stern Gang, in the creation of the State of Israel, or with respect to the JDL (Jewish Defense League), in defending the validity of the post-Hitlerian cry "Never again!", there is even more to Horowitz's racism in such a representation. There is his refusal to acknowledge that the Black Panther Party was a legitimate response to the violent and terrible conditions under which Black people in America had long suffered. Therein lies the deepest layer of his racism.

Those conditions included the repressively brutal power exercised by American police forces. Under color of law and the sanction of custom, armed men randomly, and with impunity, murdered and assaulted and jailed Blacks in such astounding numbers, they indeed formed an army of Black repression. There were the unbearable conditions of poverty under which most Blacks languished, in Southern sharecropper shanties and Northern ghettoes. There was the torture of a million denials of human and civil rights, supported by the legal disenfranchisement of an entire race ("Jim Crow" laws having not even been removed from the books until 1964). There was the indignity of racism. Those oppressive conditions bred a resounding cry for freedom, and certainly spawned the Black Panther Party.

With double entendres of duplicity, Horowitz tries, however, to divert the eye from his racism. He seeks, by assaulting Huey personally, to "sanitize" - to use his mantra - his racism. Rampaging like Rumplestiltskin, he even tries to drown out the sound of his racism, muffling a moment in history when Black people tried, yet again, to seize freedom. His flax will not become gold, however, for I here and now call his name.

- Continued Next Issue

EX-POLICE CHIEF CONVICTED FOR STEALING COCAINE EVIDENCE

BROCKTON, Mass. - Authorities dismissed 380 drug cases, saying they couldn't be prosecuted because the city's former police chief stole the evidence to support his cocaine habit.

Former Police Chief Richard J. Sproules pleaded guilty in June to stealing large amounts of cash and cocaine from the police department's evidence room dating back to 1984. He pleaded guilty to two counts of intimidating witnesses.

Sproules said he used cocaine every day for five years after trying some samples he took to anti-drug lectures.

He was sentenced to two years and four months.

CHIEF WANTS TO STEER DRUG USERS TO TREATMENT PROGRAMS INSTEAD OF JAILS

NEW HAVEN, Conn. - Police Chief Nicholas Pastore is trading his force of drug-busting, doughnut-eating police officers for what he calls social engineers.

The new chief has banned leather driving gloves on his officers as too intimidating and has told members of his force to steer drug abusers to treatment programs instead of jails.

He also has told his officers to knock off the frequent coffee-and-doughnut runs because it gives them a bad image with the public.

"I want the police to be perceived as a helping hand agency", said Pastore, who has been on the job for seven months.

"That perception can be bolstered if officers, among other things, help drug users rather than arrest them", the new chief said.

"We've tried the tanks, the helicopters, the big guns for many years. It doesn't work," Pastore, 52, said in a recent interview. "I don't subscribe to the philosophy that the more arrests you make, it's going to solve the crime problem."

Arrests in New Haven, a city of 125,000, dropped sharply when Pastore discontinued sting operations to round up drug buyers. He also stopped dispatching teams of officers into high crime neighborhoods for round-the-clock arrests and disbanded the department's canine unit.

Instead, he ordered about 20 more officers to walk beats, placed officers at high-visibility posts throughout downtown and made extensive community outreach efforts to end what he calls the "we-they mentality" in drug infested neighborhoods.

He also walks the streets of crime-plagued neighborhoods himself, frequently striking up conversations with known drug dealers.

"When I'm seen in these neighborhoods, people realize this man cares," he said.

His actions have brought praise from various members of the public and business community. A group of downtown merchants recently presented Pastore with a plaque for his efforts to increase police visibility.

The chief believes marijuana use should be decriminalized, and he said his efforts to encourage addicts to seek treatment reflects his belief that the drug problem should be resolved by physicians, not lawyers.

DRUG AGENTS IN BLACKFACE

NAPLES, Fla. - In an undercover drug operation white police officers donned blackface and posed as crack dealers in this affluent retirement haven.

Officials of the mostly white police and sheriff's departments claimed they were only trying to meet the expectations of the mostly white buyers who cruised the predominantly black River Park neighborhood looking for crack cocaine.

But residents say the police operation perpetuated racist assumptions about drug dealers.

Community leader Fran Haugabrook said the officers' philosophy appeared to be, "This is what a drug pusher would look like. In other words, a drug dealer is black."

"It's a mockery, man," said James Whittaker, a 30-year old airplane mechanic who describes the night he spotted something strange about a man who appeared to be dealing drugs on the street.

It was a white man with black makeup smeared all over his face.

A TOWN-WITHIN-DETROIT TO BLOCK OUT URBAN ILLS?

DETROIT - A group of developers wants to block out urban crime by creating a town within the city, complete with its own police force and a school system that would require weapons searches and drug tests.

Mayor Coleman Young has expressed interest in the multimillion dollar plan drafted by the developers called Partnership to Reinvest in Detroit's Excellence.

The proposed new town, which would replace a neighborhood, (about 2 miles of downtown), would be a place "where practical family values can flourish in an atmosphere free of drugs, prostitution, pornography, gambling and other criminal activities," the proposal says.

The new town would be home to about 7,500 people and would have a minigovernment with authority to control development and social programs.

STUDY SHOWS COINTELPRO STILL OPERATING

WASHINGTON, D.C. - A congressional study has found that federal agents spied on religious services, political lectures and street demonstrations attended by people suspected of having ties to international terrorist groups.

The General Accounting Office, the congressional investigating agency, said it could not determine whether people's constitutional rights had been violated, because the FBI refused to grant investigators full access to its files.

The report represents the first time a outside agency has conducted a detailed examination of the FBI's program to combat international terrorism.

It was requested by Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., who is chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.

He sought the report in the wake of the FBI's heavily criticized investigation of Americans who protested the United States' policy in Central America in the mid-1980's.

Fifteen months ago, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence concluded that the investigation, which centered on the activities of the Coalition in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, or CISPES, had been based on unfounded allegations that people opposed to the U.S. policy in Latin America were linked to international terror groups.

The report found that from 1982 through 1988, the FBI opened and closed about 19,500 investigations, with nearly 40 percent involving spying on U.S. citizens or permanent resident aliens. Most of the cases were terminated after a preliminary inquire because the subject could not be linked to terrorism.

About 44 percent of the investigations were opened after the FBI received an allegation that a subject was associated with a terrorist group, even though that person was not suspected of a criminal activity and did not necessarily belong to an organization.

The GAO report estimated that in about 2,050 cases, the FBI spied on what the report called "First Amendment activities," like meetings, rallies, demonstrations or religious services.

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The Bishop's Bassline!!!

Greetings,

The Bishop is here to give you all a lil schoolin' on hip hop's origins. Hip hop music started in the Bronx of New York City. Most say South Bronx, but I have heard others say the West. It was started in the early 70's by a man named Kool D.J. Herc. He spun the break parts of disco records back to back to make them longer. Then someone would grab the mike to hype of the crowd a lil bit, and hence the beginning of the hip hop era.

Since then hip hop music has evolved into a revolutionary movement. With groups like Boogie Down Productions, X-Clan, Public Enemy and Consolidated, hip hop has sparked a new awareness in today's Afrikan youth here in Amerika. Some complained about the sampling of old records and Malcolm X speeches, but they didn't understand that it was THAT sampling that brought today's Afrikan youth to realize that nothing has changed since the 60's. The freedom or death mindset is back in our youth to finish what people like George Jackson, Malcolm X, Huey Newton, Angela Davis and many others started.

Many older people don't like hip music; but here is a list of hip hop hits for any Black, Brown, Red, Yellow or white revolutionary woman or man.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
THE BISHOP OF HIP HOP

TOP TEN REVOLUTIONARY HIP HOP HITS (P.H.) - Pick Hits!

10. A TRIBE CALLED QUEST - Peoples Instinctive Travels and the Paths of Rythym - (P.H.) Description of a Fool; Can I Kick It?

9. ERIC "B" AND RAKIM - Let the Rythym Hit 'Em - (P.H.) In the Ghetto; Keep 'Em Eager to Listen

8. POOR RIGHTEOUS TEACHERS - Holy Intellect - (P.H.) Speaking Upon a Blackman; Word to the Wise

7. JUNGLE BROTHERS - Done by the Forces of Nature - (P.H.) Black Woman; In Dayz '2' Come

6. X-CLAN - To the East Blackwards - (P.H.) Verbal Milk; Funkin Lesson

5. ICE CUBE - AmeriKKKa's Most Wanted - (P.H.) Turn Off the Radio; Endangered Species

4. CONSOLIDATED - The Myth of Rock - (P.H.) White American Male; Weakness 1 & 2

3. KOOL G RAP and D.J. POLO -Wanted: Dead or Alive - (P.H.) The Streets of New York; Erase Racism

1. & 2. Tie between PUBLIC ENEMY and BOOGIE DOWN PRODUCTIONS. Public Enemy's "Fear of a Black Planet"; and Boogie Down Productions' "Edutainment" have to be the DOPEST ALBUMS OUT. PERIOD !!! Peep 'em out for yourself and decide. Then tell me, 'cause I REALLY DON'T KNOW. PEACE.

Photo by Scott Braley

BIRTHDAY RAP FOR GERONIMO

On the evening of September 15, 1990, at the Berkeley Community Theater, nearly five hundred rap fans gathered to hear the first all-political rap event to hit the hip hop scene.

Honoring the 43rd birthday of **geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt),** one of the country's longest held political prisoners and a former leader of the Black Panther Party's Los Angeles Chapter, the performances were dynamic, forceful, and loaded with radical, positive and pro-black messages.

Co-sponsored by the Berkeley High School African Studies Program and the International Campaign to Free geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), with security provided by the Fruit of Islam, the show was MC'd by Marcus Clemens of KPOO and Ali Phillips of Berkeley High who kept things moving with never a dull moment. Though relatively unknown, all the artists were remarkably professional reflecting hard work and dedication in their fine performances.

The show opened with Bay Area artists as follows: **A-SWISS, Black on Track, Def Court, Heart & Soul, Brothers for Change, One Nation T.R.O.O.P. 187, and the Raggamuffins. Donald Lacey** provided us with a hilarious comedy routine that preceded headliners **Paris and Nefertiti.**

Nefertiti, an up and coming rapper managed by Professor Griff, brought her entourage of four chaperoned by her father (who kept a watchful eye on these tender talented beauties), all the way from Los Angeles. Featuring an exotic performance of African dance and commanding lyrics from powerful voices, Nefertiti had the crowd on their feet waving and shouting with joy.

In a dramatic and exciting climax, Paris rocked the place with his current hit **BREAK THE GRIP OF SHAME** followed by his brand new single, **"The Devil Made Me Do It."**

"Edutainment" was the name of this game, but we must not lose sight of the seriousness of geronimo's plight and that of hundreds of political prisoners throughout the country. Geronimo is spending his 20th year in a maxiumum security prison at Tehachapi hundreds of miles from his wife and two children. Why? Because he was framed by the FBI's infamous secret war against the Panthers (COINTELPRO) for murder — no doubt for using his military expertise to teach Black people how to defend themselves against police brutality and murder. So — bottom line! — we should come to the rescue of those black heroes who risked their lives to rescue us. **FREE GERONIMO AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

VICTOR HALL
PHOTOGRAPHY

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FREE GERONIMO

There is a great injustice taking place in our community: Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has spent the last 20 years in California prisons for a crime he did not commit — eight years in solitary confinement, often with no bed, no books and no basic toilet facilities. He has been shackled, isolated and abruptly transferred all over the California prison system, making visits by family and friends extremely difficult.

We are members of the International Campaign To Free Geronimo. We are students, teachers, lawyers, artists, business people and other concerned citizens who come from different backgrounds and from different ethnic communities. What we have in common is our desire to see justice done in the case of Geronimo.

WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT

The International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)
P.O. Box 3585
Oakland, CA 94609-0585
(415) 655-3517

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

A CITY WITH PROBLEMS

Oakland has great potential, but for too many years, its problems have been ignored:

- Jobs promised by outside development are going to people who live outside Oakland.
- Neighborhood commercial districts are deteriorating while downtown retailers are forced out to make way for new office development.
- Drug-related crime terrorizes our neighborhoods and drug abuse has reached epidemic proportions.
- Toxic wastes continue to be transported through our City and high levels of lead in the air and in the paint in old buildings create health risks for our children.
- Many Oaklanders cannot find housing they can afford; much of our city's housing stock badly needs repair and the numbers of homeless increases daily.
- Oakland Public Schools fail to provide quality education for our children.
- Oakland's infant mortality rate is one of the highest in the country.
- Diverse cultural organizations receive inadequate support from City Hall.

"Wilson Riles will provide the kind of leadership Oakland needs to move foreword. He understands the process of local government; he knows what it takes to get the job done. Wilson Riles has demonstrated his commitment to the people—to our schools, to our neighborhoods, to our senior citizens. I will enthusiastically cast my vote for Wilson Riles for Mayor."

Alfreda Abbott, Oakland School Board

OAKLAND

Riles for Mayor '90

VOTE RILES NOV. 6

A MAYOR WITH SOLUTIONS

We need and deserve a Mayor who will put himself on the line for the issues that matter to all Oaklanders. Wilson Riles has and will:

- Insist that downtown development benefit our entire City; work to revitalize neighborhood shopping areas.
- Implement a strong Hire Oakland First policy.
- Provide incentives to retain our Police Officers.
- Promote neighborhood empowerment through the organization of Home Alert and block organizations.
- Promote alcohol and drug education in our schools; increase effective drug treatment programs.
- Ease the housing shortage by stimulating construction of affordable and moderate income housing.
- Protect our City from high levels of lead and toxic wastes.
- Speak out on issues that matter to Oaklanders—like apartheid and nuclear disarmament.
- Continue to bring city money into our High Schools and increase city-school cooperation.
- Work closely with the County and allow clinics to use the City's legal structure to float new bonds to insure quality health care.
- Promote the important contribution that community groups and cultural organizations make to our City.
- Assure community groups and individuals that their voices will be heard in City Hall.